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Following the example of Morgan, Lowie, Westermarck, Radcliffe-Brown and others who have studied the kinship systems of primitive societies, work --based on the same general assumptions--has been done on the Tupí-Guaraní, with certain differences from the work of those authorities arising from the use of a linguistic rather than a sociological approach.

With the above end in mind we have collected, classified and analyzed whatever kinship terms we could find in the old works dealing with the Tupí-Guaraní; from the more modern ones little was taken, since, in the well-known opinion of Marcos Morínigo (1)

1. Morínigo, 1931.

"ésta curiosa y difícil nomenclatura fué completamente desplazada por el hispanismo."

Over and above questions of validity, the works consulted presented serious difficulties proceeding from a lack of uniformity in recording the words, from typographic errors, and, very often, from a total absence of clearness concerning the use of this or that form.

Thus, the Vocabulário and the Tesoro of Montoya (2), which serves as the base for

2. Montoya, 1876.

this present work, and which gives us the greatest number of terms, present small mistakes and irregularities in the transcriptions of the terms (probably stemming [8] from type-setting errors) of such a kind as to make it difficult to attribute an exact meaning to the word in question. In the Tesoro, for example, Montoya says, on page 114: "chesyy ky, the second sister of my mother", while on page 115 there is the note: "sy yky, the aunt, youngest sister of one's mother". In the Vocabulário we once again find; "aunt, applied universally to the youngest daughter of one's mother, chesy y ky."*

* p.114: chesyy ky, la hermana segunda de mí madre; p.115: sy yky, la tia, hermana menor de su madre; Vocabuláno: tia, dizen todos a la hermana menor de su madre, chesy y ky.

Here, it would appear, is the same word, used to designate two different types of kinship, and written in three different ways.

The Vocabulário na Lingua Brasílica (3), by an unknown author (Professor Plínio Ayro-

3. Anonymous, 1938.

sa says, in the Preface, that it is possible that this is a copy of a manuscript written by Ancheita), and composed--according to the title-page--in the year 1621, also records a great number of kinship terms. This work constitutes a linguistic document of great value, since it reflects the Tupí-Guaraní spoken on the coast of Brazil during the epoch of colonization. Its author must have lived along that section of the Brazilian coast between São Vicente and Bahia, for the place-names which occur in the manuscript are those of spots in that region.

The Vocabulário is not found--when its value is weighed--to be particularly lacking in irregularities insofar as the transcriptions of Tupí-Guaraní phonemes are concerned. On this point Professor Plínio Ayrosa says (4): "Truly, even the most unobservant of

4. Op.cit., p.69.

eyes cannot fail to note the arbitrary orthography of the text and, especially, the multiplicity of signs used to transcribe identical terms or terms containing similar components. The irregularity with which ig --of special importance in Tupí-Guaraní--appears,

the lack of accentuation on the words, and the poor method of representing expressions formed by the juxtaposition of various terms, all flagrantly denounce the copyist as unattentive and, doubtless, one who had no knowledge of Amerind languages.... One gets the feeling, in reading the pages of the Vocabulário, that it was originally a work of pureness and great magnitude; that only a great and patient tupista could have been able to produce such a thing, but no one is able to neglect, on the other hand, the mistakes and falsities of an improvising copyist."

The Diccionario Português-Brasiliano (5), which was also utilized by us, reveals

5. Ayrosa, 1795 (ed.)

the speech of the Tupí-Guaraní of the north coast of Brazil (Maranhão), and is of great value in that it provides a basis for the comparative study of the Tupí-Guaraní spoken in that region as contrasted with that of Paraguay and southern Brazil. Numerous writing mistakes also show up here, as well as many words which only came into existence under the influence of Portuguese.

The excellent Vocabulário de la Lengua Guaraní (6) of Father Paulo Restivo, which

6. Montoya, 1722.

has been reproduced by Montoya, presents, thanks to our amplifications, the most accurate and best of the collected examples, a notable contribution to the clarification of questions relating to Tupí-Guaraní semantics. The kinship terms listed in Restivo's Vocabulário are uniformly written and their exact sense is better defined than in other works consulted.

In the Catecismo de la lengua guarani (7), Montoya deals in a special way with

7. Montoya, 1876.

"kinship names", making very distinct the relationship--the various degrees of kindred existing-- between brothers, cousins, nephews and second cousins.

The Catalogo dos nomes do parentesco que ha entre os Brazis , by Padre Antonio Araujo (8), was of great assistance in completing the study of the interrelations of kin-

8. Platzmann, 1898.

ship terms, besides occasionally being of use in clarifying certain incidents.[10]

In Stradelli (9), we found, by collation and a rapid comparison, the kinship terms

9. Stradelli, 1929.

employed in the Nheengatú of the Amazon Basin. The registered words presented marked differences between the Tupí-Guaraní of Amazonia and that of the regions of Paraguay and Coastal Brazil, salient among these being the substitution of v, or b, for u.

We even attempted, by whatever means were possible and warranted, to interpret all the words encountered in Batista Caetano (10). Subsequent studies, based on these

10. Batista Caetano, 1879.

interpretations, were carried on in an attempt to correlate the terms themselves with the Tupí-Guaraní social organization.

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Though kinship relations are relatively complex in modern societies, they are much more so in primitive ones. This complexity, it would seem to us, is generally in inverse proportion to the index of cultural attainment of the group being dealt with.

We know that the actions of a member of a primitive community vary with his position relative to his kin. There does not exist, in modern societies, any pre-established norm for the behavior-pattern of an individual in the presence of his "paternal grandfather", "maternal aunt" or his "brother-in-law, husband of his eldest sister"; but in primitive societies, on the contrary, we come to encounter special compartments into which each individual fits and which define his relationships with other members of his kin-group; such a fact--this observation of set rules which is implied in such behavior--accentuates the differences between primitive family life and our own.

Among the Tupí-Guaraní, considering what has been deduced from the words studied, the normal kinship patterns do not differ from those usually found in most primitive groups. [11]

The analysis of the kinship terms even reveals a descriptive spirit, for each term faithfully indicates the individual's position in the community scene. If Westermarck (11),

11. Westermarck, 1934.

in studying kinship of diverse societies, said that he did not know of a single term directly related to the act of procreation, we have an exception in Tupí-Guaraní, which contains abundant words of this nature. Thus, a father says tayra or tayr to his son (che rayra, my son), an expression stemming from ayra or ayr (indeterminate state), which means "emanating, derived, flowing from"; tayr, with the affix t, then means "the semen, the seminal fluid". Similarly, a mother says membyra or membyr to her son or daughter (che membyra, my child), because this term, of participial origin, signifies: "impregnated, conceived". The relationship with the act of procreation itself is, in this example, patent.

It is a well-known fact that kinship terms in Tupí-Guaraní have gender. The postpositions kuimbaé (masculine) and kuñã (feminine), when attached to certain terms, precise-

instance for men and at other times for women. The parents on the paternal side are also distinguished, through this terminology, from those of the maternal side. Some terms of a special nature are applied to the oldest and youngest members of a particular group.

In paternal ascent we encounter the terms for grandparents as far back as the third generation, as well as certain generic expressions used to indicate even earlier ancestors. The same thing is to be found for the mother's line. As a final remark, we take the opportunity to clarify these relationships, some of which are evident in the etymology of the terms.

General list of English kinship terms and Tupi equivalents (1)

1. The sign for nasalization of vowels is the circumflex (^). The Portuguese Estabelecimento Gráfico does not provide for accents (´ or `) with y, and so this letter never has accentuation marked on it. M or n are sometimes substituted for ^ when y is nasalized (ym, yn).

[EJ: Abbreviations used in the following list of kinship terms:
m. term employed by men
f. term employed by women]

god-daughter (m.)	tajyrangá
god-daughter (f.)	membyrangá, membyra
god-son (m.)	tayrangá
god-son (f.)	membyrangá, membyra
ancestors	ypykueretá, jaryigetá, tamôigetá

grandfather	paíamôi, tamôi
grandmother	jaryi, sy-guaibî
great-grandfather	tamôi-joapy, tamôi-rúba
great-grandmother	arya-mokôi-sába, jaryi-joapy
great-grandfather (maternal)	sy-ramôi
great-grandmother(maternal)	sy- jaryi
great-grandfather (paternal)	tuba-ramôi
great-grandmother (paternal)	tuba- jaryi
great-grandchild (m.)	temimenô-joapy, tayra-remimenô
great-grandchild (f.)	tembyra-membyré tembyra-remiarirô, temiarirôarirô, temiarirô-joapy, temiarirô-membyra

sister-in-law:

man's wife's younger sister (m.)	tembirekó-kypyy, tembirekó-pykyíra [13]
man's wife's older sister (m.)	tembirekó-rykéra
sister of husband; brother's wife's sister; cousin's wife (f.)	uki ou ukey
brother's wife (f.)	kyby-raty, kyby-rembirekó
younger brother's wife (m.)	tyby-raty, tyby-rembirekó
older brother's wife (m.)	tykeyra-raty
brother-in-law:	
general	tobaiá
older sister's husband (m.)	teindyra-ména
younger sister's husband (f.)	kypyy-ména, pykyiména
older sister's husband; older niece's husband (f.)	tykéra-ména
husband's younger brother (f.)	mendyby, mêryby
husband's older brother (f.)	ména-rykeyra, mendykeyra, merykeyra

mother-in-law	joaychó
father-in-law	joatyúba
step-daughter (m.)	tajyrangá, tembirekó-membyra
step-daughter (f.)	membyrangá, membyra-kuñâ
step-son (m.)	tayrangá, tembirekó-membyra
step-son (f.)	membyrangá, membyra-raysé
wife	tembirekó
husband	ména
daughter (m.)	tajyra
daughter (f.)	membyra, membyra-kuñâ
daughter, first born (m.)	tajyrypy [14]
daughter, first born (f.)	membyrypy, membyrendotára
son (m.)	tayra
son (f.)	membyra, membyra-kuimbaé,tapí
son, adopted (m.)	tayrangá
son, younger son of woman (f.)	membrya-semyréra

son, legitimate	mendaré-rayra
son, illegitimate (m.)	kunumí-ybe, mendahagúa-reym-rayra, mendareym-rayra, tubeymbae, tubymbae, tujekuaabeymba tuñemimeguá
son, illegitimate (f.)	mendareym-membyra
son, mother deceased	syeyma, tyreym
son, father deceased	tyreym, tubayma
son, first born (m.)	henónde-guára, ypykué tayrendotára, tayrypy
son, first born, (f.)	membyrendotára, membyrypy
son-in-law (m.)	jetipé-mena, tajyra-ména
son-in-law (f.)	membyra-ména, peû
sister (m.)	mú, ahyguér, asyguér
sister, younger (m.)	minî, miringuéra, teindyra-miringuéra
sister, older (m.)	teindyra

sister, younger (f.)	kypyy, miringuéra, pykyíra
sister, older (f.)	tykéra
brother (m.)	ahyguér, asy, asyeté, asyguér, mú
brother, younger (m.)	miringuéra, tyby, tybyky
brother, older (m.)	asyeté, asyguér, tykeyra [15]
brother (f.)	tapi
brother, younger (f.)	asyeté, asyguér, kyby, kybykyr
brother, older (f.)	kyby
brother, (milk brother)	sy-kamby-ári-kakuaapaaré, sy-kamby-guaréra
step-mother	syrangá, túba-rembirekó, tubaty, syyra
god-mother	syrangá
mother	sy
grandson (grandfather speaking)	tamym
grandson or granddaughter (m.)	temimenô
grandson or granddaughter (f.)	temiarirô
daughter-in-law (m.)	tayra-rembirekó, tayra-taty, tayraty, taty

daughter-in-law (f.)	membyra-taty, membyraty, membyra-rembirekô, taty
step-father	syména, tubangá
god-father	tubangá
father	túba
cousin	
mother's brother's daughter	tuty-rajyra
father's brother's daughter	tuby-rajyra
mother's older sister's daughter (m.)	syy-membyra-kuña
father's sister's daughter	jaiché-membyra-kuña
mother's older sister's son (m.)	syy-membyra-kuimbaé
father's sister's son	jaiché-membyra-kuimbaé
mother's brother's son	tuty-rayra
mother's brother's son's son	tuty-rayra-rayré [16]
mother's brother's daughter's daughter	tuty-rajyra-membyré
father's brother's son's son	tuby-rayra-rayré
father's brother's daughter's daughter	tuby-rajyra-membyré
father's sister's daughter's daughter	jaiché-membyra-membyré

mother's older sister's daughter's daughter	syy-membyra-membyré
niece (f.) general term	kuñá-membyra, membyra, membyra-kuñá, peng
younger sister's daughter (f.)	kypyy-membyra-kuñá, ñomemby-kuñá
older sister's daughter (f.)	tykera-membyra-kuñá, ñomemby-kuñá
sister's daughter or female first cousin's daughter (m.)	jetipé
brother's daughter (m.)	joajyré, joajyra, tajyra
wife of nephew or wife of cousin	jyraty, pengaty, riyraty
older brother's daughter (m.)	tykeyra-rajyra
nephew	
younger sister's son (f.)	kypyy-membyra-raysé, ñomembyra-raysé
older sister's son (f.)	tykéra-membyra-raysé, nomemby-raysé
brother's son (f.)	peng
sister's son (m.)	riyr, teindyra-membyra [17]
younger brother's son (m.)	joayré, tyby-rayré

older brother's son (m.)	joayré, tykeyra-rayré
mother-in-law (m.)	taychó
mother-in-law (f.)	menasy, mendy
father-in-law (m.)	tatyúba
father-in-law (f.)	menarúba, mendúba
aunt	
mother's older sister (m.)	syy
mother's younger sister (m.)	syykyr
mother's sister or wife's mother's sister	syyra
mother's younger sister (f.)	sy-kypyy
father's sister	jaiché
uncle	
mother's brother	tuty
father's brother	tuby
great-great-grandmother	tamõi-joapy-rúba, tamõi-kué, túba-ramõi-rúba

great-great-grandmother (maternal)	sy-ramôi-joapy
great-great-grandmother (paternal)	túba-ramôi-joapy
great-great-grandfather (maternal)	sy-jaryi-joapy
great-great-grandfather (paternal)	túba-jaryi-joapy
great-great-grandchild	tayra -remimenô-rayra, temimenô-joapy-rayra